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ABSTRACT

Al Hester's communication model sees news flow as being primarily dependent upon national rank in the hierarchy of nations, dominance and weakness of nations, and economic and cultural factors. A sample of 37 newspapers was content analyzed in a study extending this international news flow concept to the intra-national level to determine whether this model is applicable to the flow of information in the United States from 1808 to 1812. During this period, the United States was composed of distinct regions. The centers of governmental and economic power were along the Eastern seaboard, particularly in the coastal areas of New England, the Middle Atlantic States, and the Upper South. The country was conducive to an information imbalance parallel to the imbalance between developed and developing nations. It was hypothesized that a higher percentage of news would flow from the South into the other three regions, that a greater percentage of news content would flow into New England than out of it, and that a greater percentage of news would flow into the frontier from the Eastern region than would be exported from the frontier. Not surprisingly, the major exporter of the news during the period was the South, which encompassed the nation's capital. It was thought that the frontier would be the major recipient of news from other regions, but New England was the primary importer of news. While not a precise fit, certain aspects of Hester's model appear to be useful in studying intra-national news flow. (HTH)

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to American Newspapers in the 1808-1812 Period:
A Preliminary Study

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The Flow of News

One of the major areas of contention among the nations of the world today concerns the flow of information. Stated another way, will the historical patterns of information flow, which favor the industrial nations, continue or will a new world information order based on population distribution, national development, and cultural independence prevail? The shape of the future world is at stake. What is at issue in the discussion is the free flow of information, an implicit hegemony of the industrial nations over the rest of the world on the one hand and a fractional world of national independence on the other. However, as is often true, the issues are not black and white but gray.

At issue is more than the mere flow of information. The controversy goes much deeper. The two set-pieces of the drama among the nations of the world are the New World Information Order (and other semantic variation such as the New International Information Order) and the New International Economic Order. Both schemes subsume a variety of ideas, concepts, and areas of agreement and disagreement; however, both have as their central tenets the rearrangement of the information and economic resources of the earth. The economic order calls for no less than a redistribution of the world's wealth.¹ A part of that wealth is information. While it is misleading to suggest that there are only two sides to the NWIO question (after all, one of the major complaints against Western journalism is that issues are often treated as if there were only two sides), for practical purposes it can be seen as a confrontation between the developing and the developed nations.² The developing nations accuse the developed nations

of promoting an imbalance of news flow, neocolonialism, and exploitation;³ the developed nations counter by charging that the developing nations want to control the flow of news to protect governments, to control access, and to censor the news.⁴

The key issue is the question of news flow. However, it is not clear whether the imbalance is as great as some Third World leaders assert. Masmoudi, perhaps the most outspoken proponent of the NWIO, sees news as a means used by the developed nations to perpetuate the hegemony of the former colonial powers and as a tool of cultural imperialism.⁵ However, he sees news flow as only one aspect of imbalance. He believes that there are serious political, legal, technical, and financial imbalances as well. His views are considered radical by the West for his intent apparently is to remake the world and shift the center of power to the developing nations.

A Third World supporter of Masmoudi, Narinder Aggarwala, sees the NWIO as the primary means by which the Third World can remove its dependence on the developed nations.⁶ Agreeing with Aggarwala is Herbert Schiller, an American. He believes the Third World is dominated by the developed nations and believes the NWIO is the only way to diminish Western influence in the developing countries.⁷ Harris addresses the question of news flow and concludes that it must become horizontal instead of the present vertical pattern.⁸ The difference is that in a vertical news flow pattern news flows from the top (the leaders, both governmental and/or media) with no control below that point. In a horizontal scheme news flow is from the bottom up. In Schiller's view the best means of achieving a horizontal flow is through national news agencies.⁹ In contrast the transnational news agencies (TNAs), such as Associated Press and United Press, represent only a vertical flow.

However, as indicated earlier, the imbalances in news flow may not be quite what those in the developing nations assert. Sussman,¹⁰ in the Working Papers for the Talloires Conference,¹¹ points out that the inequities suggested by Masmoudi, Schiller, and others are not very well supported by empirical evidence. Other researchers¹² suggest that the international news agencies don't neglect the developing nations in their coverage and that it is actually Third World news that dominates the newspapers of the developing nations. Research also shows that contrary to assertions that it is only negative news, coups and earthquakes,¹³ that is given play in news transmitted by the TNNAs, very little of this negative news actually appears in the press. It is true, however, that the newspapers in Asia generally follow the news interests expressed by the TNNAs.¹⁴ One of the major arguments advanced at the Talloires Conference is that much of the research utilized by UNESCO is ideologically slanted toward the Third World and is often suspect. It is that research that often forms the basis for charges against the developed nations.

At the heart of any possible imbalance in news flow is what Hester calls "an extremely complicated process of interaction" between the nations of the world.¹⁵ There are powerful reasons for the interaction, as he points out:

Events external to the system or to an organism may have the most important consequences for it, and all living systems have provisions for receiving information concerning external events from the "outside".¹⁶

In terms of national entities, the "outside" is composed of other nations. The determinants of news flow are such things as cultural affinity, the hierarchies, or "pecking order," of nations, and economic factors.¹⁷ The factors to be considered in setting a hierarchy of nations include such things as population, geographic size, economic development, relative power, and length

of time as a sovereign state. If as Lasswell¹⁸ suggests, one of the primary functions of communication is surveillance of the environment, then one would expect that nations (and individuals) communicate to ascertain what is going on around the world. Basic communication theory suggests that people who are alike tend to communicate more than those who are unlike.¹⁹ Hester sees news flow as being primarily dependent upon national rank in the hierarchy of nations, dominance and weakness of nations, and economic and cultural factors.²⁰

This study extends the international news flow concept to the level of intranational affairs. Many of the factors which determine volume, kind, and direction of news flow discussed in the international arena appear to be applicable to communication processes within individual nations, at least in their developmental phase. Specifically, in the historical context, news flow in the 1808-1812 period is hypothesized to include many of the factors discussed for relations among nations. Certainly, there was international news flow in the period under study.²¹ But of greater importance in this study is the flow of news within the United States. As Miller²² has pointed out, the United States was composed of distinct sections during the early 1800s. The several regions were quite different entities. The centers of governmental and economic power were along the Eastern seaboard, particularly in the coastal areas of New England, Middle Atlantic States, and the upper South. Those areas had existed as political entities longer than the frontier and the deep South. They also contained the bulk of the population. If one assumes that Hester is correct in his hypotheses, then one might expect greater news flow into the less populated and less developed areas of the United States.²³ Certainly, the United States in the period under study was ripe for such an imbalance. Nye states the case well in the following:

The United States was, at its beginning, both a nation and a collection of states and sections . . . Unlike any other western nation, the United States was by 1830 a tangled skein of loyalties to sentiments, symbols, sections, localities, groups, political divisions and subdivisions, and to economic, ethnic, ideological, and other interests, all of which held the individual citizen in a sort of loose social orbit.²⁴

The United States was not one nation; it was many. In such a circumstance a balanced news flow among the regions could hardly be expected.

Methodology

The data used in this study were drawn from an extensive content analysis of American newspapers conducted in 1961 and 1982.²⁵ The purpose of the content analysis was not to study news flow specifically but a number of news flow variables were included in the expectation that such a study would be done. The original content analysis was concerned with the content of all newspapers in the United States during the years, 1808-1812.²⁶ Using the census year 1810 as the base year, a random sample of newspapers was drawn from a total population of 371 newspapers (see Appendix A for the newspapers in the sample).²⁷ The number "four" was randomly selected, and using the sampling fraction (.10),²⁸ a sample of 37 newspapers was selected by drawing every tenth newspaper from the list of 381.²⁹

Each newspaper's frequency was determined and random publication dates for each newspaper selected using a table of random numbers. Each edition was then content analyzed³⁰ according to the following general content categories: Domestic, Foreign, Other, Advertising, Borrowed News, and News Flow (only the last was used in this study).³¹ All newspaper content was measured, first in inches and then converted to a count of total words. All content was assigned to one of several exclusive categories,³² using Avery's³³ classification schema (see Appendix B for reliabilities).³⁴

The Questions

If as Hester suggests, the determinants of news flow are based on cultural affinity, hierarchies, and economic factors among nations, it is no great mental leap to apply the concepts to intranational affairs, assuming of course, that regional similarities and differences are matters only of degree and not of kind. America in the early nineteenth century looked in many ways similar to the former colonial subject nations of today. Despite differences in population, size, economic development, and so forth, the regions of the country in the early nineteenth century had many of the attributes of a former colony. To a large extent the deep South and the frontier were dependent upon more developed New England, Middle Atlantic States, and upper South for economic markets, governmental leadership, and news of a more general nature. Culturally, the various regions of the country had much in common and, according to Hester, this would be a major reason to communicate. However, there were many cultural dissimilarities. If one looks at migration patterns, it becomes evident that Tennessee, say, had much more in common with the Carolinas than with either the Middle Atlantic States or New England. The settlers in those states carved from the Northwest Territory had more in common with New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, than with New England and the deep South. Because of the French influence, residents in the region of the Louisiana Territory had little in common with the other regions of the country.

Following the above reasoning, certain patterns of news flow should be discernable among the various regions. Borrowing heavily from the work of Hester³⁵ the following research questions were developed:

1. Because of the location of the national capital, a higher percentage of news content will flow from (exported) the South into (imported) the other three regions than will flow in the opposite direction.

2. Because of the economic power of New England, a greater percentage of news content will flow into (imported) New England than will flow from (exported) New England to the other regions.
3. A greater percentage of news will flow into (imported) the frontier from (exported) New England, Middle Atlantic States, and South than will flow from (exported) the frontier to the other regions.

Findings

Not surprisingly the major exporter of news during the period studied was the South (see Table 1).³⁶ From the table it can be seen that the South exported 63 percent of the total news content exported by the regions. No other region was even close. Of the total content exported to other regions the Middle Atlantic States accounted for 15 percent, the frontier 14 percent, and New England only 7 percent.

Theory would suggest that the frontier would be the major recipient of news from other regions. It can be seen from Table 2 that the primary importer of news was not the frontier but New England. In fact 47 percent of all imported content flowed to newspapers in New England. However, the frontier accounted for the second highest percentage (21%) but just barely. The Middle Atlantic States accounted for 20 percent while the South imported only 12 percent of the total. A comparison of Tables 1 and 2 reveals that an inverse relationship exists between major importers and exporters of news. The South exported the greatest percentage of content while importing the smallest percentage of content. New England exported the smallest percentage of content while importing the greatest percentage.

In terms of where exporters sent their news, several patterns are evident. New England was the recipient of the majority of news from the other three regions with the exception of the frontier where both New England and the South received 40 percent of the frontier's exports (see Table 3). The Middle Atlantic States sent 48 percent of their exported news to New England while

sending 28 percent to the South and 24 percent to the frontier. The South sent 53 percent of its exported news to New England while sending the Middle Atlantic States 26 percent and the frontier 21 percent. As noted above the frontier sent New England and the South 40 percent each while sending the Middle Atlantic States only 19 percent. New England, for its part, sent 57 percent of its exported content to the frontier while sending the South 32 percent and the Middle Atlantic States 11 percent.

As mentioned earlier the South was the major source of imported news when the regions are considered in aggregate (Table 1). When considering the source of each region's imported news the South becomes even more important. Of the total news content imported by New England, the South accounted for 72 percent while the Middle Atlantic States was the source of 16 percent and the frontier 12 percent. The same pattern is repeated in the Middle Atlantic States. The South accounted for 82 percent of all news content imported by the Middle Atlantic States. The other two regions sent considerably less. The frontier was the source of 14 percent and New England only 4 percent. The South accounted for 64 percent of news content imported by the frontier while New England accounted for 19 percent and the Middle Atlantic States accounted for 17 percent. The major source of imported content for the South was the frontier which sent the South 47 percent. The Middle Atlantic States accounted for 35 percent of the South's imported content while New England accounted for 18 percent.

Discussion

There is evidence in this research that Hester's model of international news flow has application at the intranational level, specifically among American newspapers in the 1808-1812 period. While not a precise fit, certain

aspects of Hester's model appear to have wide enough application to be useful, at least, in studying the early developmental phase of American newspapers. However, as a predictive model, the usefulness of Hester's model appears somewhat limited. Those aspects of the model that are most useful concern the volume of information flowing from a higher ranking to a lower ranking nation, cultural affinities among nations, and the effects of economic relationships among nations. These three set-pieces of Hester's model were quite useful in the present study.

If one interprets Hester to mean that the rankings of nations is based on the perceived power of those nations, then one would expect the center of power in an intranational structure to be the seat of government. The most powerful region of the country in terms of news flow would be that region which houses the national government. In the period under study that was already the South. Following Hester's model, the South should be the major exporter of news. The findings reported here show clearly that this was so. This should not be surprising when one remembers that the press in the early nineteenth century was very much politically oriented. Government represented the most powerful force in early America. Newspapers in and near the capital gave the majority of their news space to governmental and political news. Information about government would be eagerly sought by those newspapers outside Washington, D.C. and this is all the explanation needed to understand why the South exported so much news content.

However, the opposite of the "ranking" coin, suggested by Hester, is less evident in the present study. Hester's model would predict that the frontier would be the major recipient of news content from other regions, particularly the South. The findings show that this was not the case. Recall

that New England received 47 percent of the South's exported content to 21 percent for the frontier. Apparently what has happened is that one part of Hester's model is in conflict with another.

Hester hypothesizes that economic relationships represent a powerful basis for the exchange of information. Specifically, Hester argues that a nation that is economically dependent on another will receive more information from that nation than it will export to that nation. All regions of the country were economically dependent, to some degree, on all the other regions and the need for information would be great. New England was a region of merchants who were dependent on other regions for their livelihood. The flow of news found in this study supports Hester's assertions. In contrast to the earlier discussion about the rankings of nations and regions, this study found that New England imported a higher percentage of news than did the other regions. A consideration of economic needs (and the merchants' need for information) of New England is probably the reason for it being the major importer of news rather than the frontier.

The final set-piece of Hester's model concerns the cultural affinities of nations. Hester hypothesizes that those nations which are culturally close will exchange more information than those which lack cultural affinity. Despite the differences among the regions of the United States in the period studied, the regions of the country were still homogeneous. It is believed that the two previously mentioned factors, rankings and economic ties, were more important in the exchange of news than any slight differences in culture and locale. However, this should not be interpreted as invalidating Hester's model. It does appear that questions of cultural affinity were less crucial than issues of political, military, and economic power, at least, in the period under study.

This has been a preliminary attempt to apply a modern theoretical construct to an historical context. While not totally successful, the attempt appears to partially validate Hester's news flow model. Perhaps a better test of Hester's work would be to apply the construct to the American colonial period or as a study of international news flow in the early nineteenth century. In any event, the present study reveals that there were a number of clear news flow patterns at work among the regions of the United States in the 1808-1812 period.

NOTES

¹For a discussion of the New International Economic Order, see Bruce Russett and Harvey Starr, World Politics: The Menu for Choice (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1981), pp. 486-495.

²Stanley M. Swinton, "A First World View," in Crisis in International News, eds. Jim Richstad and Michael H. Anderson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), p. xiii.

³Mustapha Masmoudi, "The New World Information Order," in Crisis in International News, eds. Jim Richstad and Michael H. Anderson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), pp. 77-96.

⁴Rosemary Richter, "News Flow International," The Political Quarterly 50 (1979):302-315.

⁵Masmoudi, op. cit.

⁶Narinder K. Aggarwala, "A Third World View," in Crisis in International News, eds. Jim Richstad and Michael H. Anderson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), pp. xv-xxi.

⁷Herbert I. Schiller, "Genesis of the Free Flow of Information Principles," in Crisis in International News, eds. Jim Richstad and Michael H. Anderson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), pp. 161-183.

⁸Phil Farris, "News Dependence and Structural Change," in Crisis in International News, eds. Jim Richstad and Michael H. Anderson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), pp. 356-368.

⁹Herbert I. Schiller, "Freedom from the 'Free Flow,'" Journal of Communication 24 (1974):1-16.

¹⁰Leonard Sussman, "The Politics of 'New Order' Communication Studies: What Are the Facts?" in Voices of Freedom (Medford, Mass.: Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy, 1981), pp. 1-15.

¹¹The Talloires Conference, held in France in March 1980, was a gathering of journalists, industry leaders, and communication researchers. It was called primarily to develop strategies to combat the New World Information Order. Most of those attending were from the West but several attendees were from the Third World.

¹²For a discussion of the empirical evidence, see *Ibid.*, particularly pp. 6-10.

¹³Mort Rosenblum, Coups and Earthquakes: Reporting the World for America (New York: Harper & Row, 1979).

¹⁴Wilbur Schramm and L. Erwin Atwood, Circulation of News in the Third World: A Study of Asia (Hong Kong: Centre for Communication Study, The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 1981).

¹⁵Al Hester, "Theoretical Considerations in Predicting Volume and Direction of International Information Flow," Gazette 19 (1973):239-247.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 239.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸Harold Lasswell, "The Structure and Function of Communication in Society," in Mass Communication, ed. Wilbur Schramm, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1960), p. 118.

¹⁹Theodore M. Newcomb, "An Approach to the Study of Communicative Acts," Psychological Review 60 (1953):393-404.

²⁰Hester, *op. cit.* Among the hypotheses suggested by Hester are (1) More information will flow from "high"-ranking nations ranked "low" in the hierarchy; (2) The volume of information flowing from a "high"-ranking nation into a "low"-ranking nation will be greater than that flowing in the opposite direction; (3) Information flows between nations having cultural and historical affinities will be greater than the flows between nations without such affinities; (4) Information flows between nations having active economic relations will be greater than the flows between those without such ties; (5) The inflow of information from a nation that is economically dependent upon another nation will be less than the information inflow to the nation with the stronger economic base; and (6) The inflow of information from a mother country to a colony will be greater than the outflow of information from the colony or former colony to the mother country, unless the colony or former colony is perceived as being higher ranked in the hierarchy of nations.

²¹Donald R. Avery, "The Newspaper on the Eve of the War of 1812: Changes in Content Patterns, 1808-1812" (Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Illinois University, 1982). See also Ralph E. Weber, From the Foreign Press (Huntington, N.Y.: Robert E. Krieger, 1979).

²²John C. Miller, The Federalist Era (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), pp. 2-3.

²³Hester, *op. cit.*

²⁴Russel Blaine Nye, The Cultural Life of the New Nation (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), p. 145.

²⁵Avery, *op. cit.*

²⁶Avery, "The American Newspaper in the Early Nineteenth Century: The Torch Bearer?" Paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Corvallis, Oregon, 1983.

²⁷Compiled from Alfred McClung Lee, The Daily Newspaper in America (New York: Macmillan, 1937), pp. 711-739.

²⁸Sampling fraction:

$$sf = \frac{\text{sample size}}{\text{population size}}$$

$$sf = \frac{37}{371}$$

$$sf = .10$$

²⁹All newspapers which published less than one year were deleted when encountered during the selection process and the next newspaper on the list then selected.

³⁰The newspapers content analyzed were found on microfilm at Morris Library, Southern Illinois University and at several other university libraries across the country.

³¹News flow was determined by the content's region of origin. That is, from which region of the country came the news.

³²Content categories: 1) Military: defense, war, spending for military; 2) Foreign Relations: depends upon source of item; 3) Federal Government/Political: government leaders, actions of governmental bodies; 4) Local Government/Political: local leaders, politics, governmental actions; 5) Economic: business, shipping, agriculture; 6) Frontier (Indian): events, people; 7) Other: items which cannot be placed in first six categories. Includes the following categories: Accidents & Disasters: acts of God, storms, earthquakes, fires; Crime & Judicial: accusations of crimes, court actions, judges; Science: scientific advances, strange occurrences, explanations; Education: process of education, educators; Religion: theologians, preachers, religious practices; Art & Culture: painting, sculpture; 8) Advertising: items which sell foreign or domestic goods and services; 9) Non-Commercial Advertising: advertising items which do not attempt to sell goods or services; and 10) Unknown: items for which a source cannot be determined.

³³Avery, "Changing News Emphasis in the Pre-War Period of 1812: A Content Analysis" (M.A. thesis, Southern Illinois University, 1981). See also Wilbur Schramm and L. Erwin Atwood, Circulation of News in the Third World: A Study of Asia (Hong Kong: Centre for Communication Study, The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 1981).

³⁴To determine the reliability (accuracy and stability) of the coding procedures, two-hundred randomly selected cases were recorded by the writer and seventy-five randomly selected cases were recorded by another coder. There were five coding decisions per variable: 1) variable, 2) foreign-domestic, 3) source, 4) borrowed, and 5) item length. Intra-coder reliability was 0.93 while inter-coder reliability was 0.88 (see Appendix B for reliabilities by variable). Because both coefficients are high, coding judgments are believed to be reliable.

³⁵Hester, op. cit.

³⁶The regions studied were made up of the following: newspapers from Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut were included in the New England population; newspapers from New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey were included in the Middle Atlantic population; newspapers from Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, and Washington, D.C. were included in the South population; newspapers from Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, and Ohio were included in the frontier population.

Table 1

Mean Number and Percentage of Words Exported by the Regions

Region	Mean	Percentage*
New England	824	7
Middle Atlantic States	1764	15
South	7311	63
Frontier	1644	14

*Percent of total exported.

Table 2

Mean Number and Percentage of Words Imported by the Regions

Region	Mean	Percentage*
New England	5402	47
Middle Atlantic States	2284	20
South	1422	12
Frontier	2435	21

*Percent of total imported.

Table 3

Mean Number and Percentage of Words Exported by Individual Regions

From Region	To Region	Mean	%*
New England	Middle Atlantic States	92	11
	South	263	32
	Frontier	469	57
	Total	824	100
Middle Atlantic States	New England	853	48
	South	496	28
	Frontier	415	24
	Total	1764	100
South	Middle Atlantic States	1875	26
	New England	3885	53
	Frontier	1551	21
	Total	7311	100
Frontier	Middle Atlantic States	317	19
	New England	664	40
	South	663	40
	Total	1644	99**

*Percent of total exported by each of the regions.

**Not equal to 100% due to rounding error.

Table 4

Mean Number and Percentage of Words Imported by Individual Regions

To Region	From Region	Mean	%
New England	Middle Atlantic States	853	16
	South	3885	72
	Frontier	654	12
	Total	5402	100
Middle Atlantic States	New England	92	4
	South	1875	82
	Frontier	317	14
	Total	2284	100
South	New England	263	18
	Middle Atlantic States	496	35
	Frontier	663	47
	Total	1422	100
Frontier	New England	469	19
	Middle Atlantic States	415	17
	South	1551	64
	Total	2435	100

*Percent of total imported by each of the regions.

APPENDIX A

NUMBER OF EDITIONS PER NEWSPAPER^a

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Number</u>
01 Connecticut Journal	Wkly	30
02 Pittsfield Sun	Wkly	30
03 Eastern Aigus	Wkly	30
04 Portsmouth Oracle	Wkly	30
05 Providence Gazette	Wkly	30
06 Essex Register	Semi-Wkly	50
07 National Aegis	Wkly	30
08 Independent Chronicle	Semi-Wkly	50
09 Independent American	Wkly	26
10 Carlisle Gazette	Wkly	30
11 Otsego Herald	Wkly	30
12 New-York Herald	Semi-Wkly	50
13 Centinal of Freedom	Wkly	30
14 Tickler	Wkly	30
15 Balance	Wkly	24
16 Chenango Weekly	Wkly	13
17 Shamrock	Wkly	12
18 N.Y. Public Advertiser	Daily	130
19 Impartial Observer	Wkly	26
20 Poulson's American	Daily	130
21 N.Y. Morning Post	Daily	45
22 Commercial Advertiser	Daily	130
23 N.Y. American Citizen	Daily	78
24 Farmer's Repository	Wkly	29
25 Richmond Enquirer	Wkly	30
26 Hagerstown Gazette	Wkly	22
27 American Watchman	Semi-Wkly	35
28 National Intelligencer	Tri-Wkly	80
29 Alexandria Advertiser	Daily	117
30 Leesberg Washingtonian	Wkly	12
31 Raleigh Register	Wkly	30
32 Missouri Gazette	Wkly	27
33 Vincennes Western Sun	Wkly	30
34 Chillicothe Supporter	Wkly	26
35 Kentucky Gazette	Wkly	12
36 Knoxville Gazette	Wkly	30
37 Louisiana Gazette	Wkly	51

TOTAL EDITIONS

1595

^aIn order to achieve equal sample size for each year, editions were randomly discarded until each year contained 278 editions. Total sample size was 1390.

APPENDIX B

INTRA- AND INTER-CODER RELIABILITIES AND COEFFICIENTS FOR VARIABLES^a

Variables	Total Decisions		Incorrect Decisions		Coefficients	
	Intra	Inter	Intra	Inter	Intra	Inter
Milfor	608	212	79	36	.870	.830
Mildom	1308	504	94	56	.928	.889
Forelfor	5176	1964	617	354	.881	.819
Foreldom	2004	756	212	91	.894	.879
Fedsofor	44	0	0	0	1.000	0
Fedso ~~dom~~	3784	1440	337	163	.911	.886
Logovfor	4	0	0	0	1.000	0
Logovdom	3608	1376	53	78	.985	.943
Ecorfor	784	300	46	18	.941	.940
Econdom	1576	596	77	63	.951	.894
Frontfor	4	0	0	0	1.000	0
Frontdom	1696	652	32	43	.982	.934
Otherfor	1004	384	56	33	.944	.914
Otherdom	5044	2348	323	325	.946	.862
Adsellfo	30	12	2	1	.933	.916
Adsell ~~do~~	193	72	17	9	.911	.875
Adnotefo	9	10	1	2	.889	.800
Adnote ~~do~~	189	69	19	11	.889	.841
TOTAL	28065	10695	1965	1283	.930	.880

^aThe term "intra" refers to intra-coder judgments and the term "inter" refers to inter-coder judgments.